G.R.S. IX—5]

Previous references. 1923 File No. 21-22

(Ref) Serial Nos. 111

Later references.

Reserve

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

Serial Nos. One

Part B for Number 23

SUBJECT

From President, Mysore Reforms Conference, Bangalore
Forwarding for the consideration of Government copy of Resolutions
passed in the Conference on the recommendations of the Reforms
Committee

File

Printed on the Multigraph.

(1) 2

G. R. S. III-2]

General and Revenue Secretariat. | R. & File No. 21 of 19 .

Serial No. 14

Ex the dated 12.6.23

From

The President, Supreme Reforms Confce
Bangalore

Forwards for the consideration of Govt, copy of Resolutions passed at the Conference on the recommendations of the Reforms Committee.

The letter has been acknowledged by the Secretary's Office.

The Resolutions have been tabulated & a statement is put up

Filed
Box
6.7.23.

Summary of representations with brief remarks put up. It will be seen that no special action is called for in respect of the any of the points.

Ch. Sec.y. 9/7.

Secy 11/7 RR 11/7.

Secy 12/7

Secy 13/7

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

G. R. S. III-2]

General and Revenue Secretariat.

Ref File No. 21 of 1922 Cr

Serial No.	
1	

NOTE—Contn. sheet.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MYSORE REFORMS CONFERENCE.

Summary of Resolution.	Remarks.	Orders of Government.
1. Expression of loyalty and gratitude to His Highness.	No action.	
2. His Highness to announce that the Reforms are preparatory and that ultimately the Executive Government will be responsible to the Representative Assembly.	Not feasible.	
3. A promise to be made that in 5 years from now the question of further constitutional Reforms will be considered.	do.	
4. That the Reforms Report is unsatisfactory.	No action.	
5. That the recommendations of the Committee are inadequate.	do.	
6. That the opinion of the Representative Assembly should be obtained on the Report.	was done.	
7. That a declaration should be made by His Highness:--		
(1) That the Press is free.	In ~~none~~ one of the matters referred to here is there or has there been any hardship or danger. In any case the question has nothing to do with Constitutional Developments.	
(2) That the citizens are free to pursue their avocations unmolested.		
(3) That there will be no arbitrary arrest and punishment of individuals.		
8. That there should be one or more non-official Members of Council	No decision reached yet.	
9. That the Executive should have no power to frame Regulations independently of the Legislature.	There is no such recommendation. He was merely a Suggestion of the chairman. Please see paragraph 87 – p. 36 of the report	
10 Emergency Regulations to be in force only for the period of emergency.	Not very clear. The present L.C.Regn. fixes a period of 6 months during which emergency Regns. are valid. The same principle is accepted by the committee. No change is required.	
11. Reservation of powers unnecessary.	necessary.	
12. Representative Assembly to be presided over by an elected non-official.	Not considered desirable for the present.	If possible
13. Amendments to be voted upon in the Representative Assembly.	Provision made.	
14. Standing Committee of the Representative Assembly to have power to admit or reject resolutions and interpellations.	Standing Committee of Representative Assembly not approved. Subjects, resolutions and interpellations will all be admitted or rejected by a Meeting of Representative Assembly Members in each District.	
15. Three-fourths the strength of the Legislative Council to be elected non-officials.	Decided that 30 out of 50 should be non-officials of whom 22 will be elected.	
16. Nomination out of place in the Representative Assembly.	Decided that nomination may be sparingly used.	
17. Representative Assembly to have the power of passing Legislative Measures, taxation and Budget.	Will not have power to pass, but will be consulted.	
18. If the views of the Representative Assembly are not accepted by the Legislative Council, the Representative Assembly to be reconsulted.	Not desirable.	
19. That there should be perfect freedom of speech in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council and that no Civil or Criminal action should lie in respect of speeches made therein.	This privilege may have to be given ultimately, but for the present it is premature. The last Representative Assembly Session furnished an unpleasant instance. Further, in practice, speeches are perfectly free subject only to the control of the President. No further action is needed at present.	
20. That franchise be further extended and electorates revised.	Franchise is quite low enough for the present.. Electorate ~~Elections~~ are under revision.	

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT THE MYSORE REFORMS CONFERENCE.

Summary of Resolution.	Remarks.	Orders of Government.
21. That Minority ~~Representations~~ Representatives should be qualified as other representatives.	Not proposed.	
22. Associations returning minority representatives to be subject to definite rules.	That is the intention.	
23. Sex disqualifications of candidates --- should be removed.	Under consideration.	
24. Government servants to be ineligible to vote.	do.	
25. (a) Validity of election to be decided by District Judges and not by Deputy Commissioners.	As proposed by the Conf., Dept. cn. decide Objection in the case of the R.A and Dt Judge in the case of the L.C. This seems to be alright	
(b) Appeal to lie to Chief Court.	Not necessary	
26. ~~Reduction.~~	No action —	

(Ch. Secy.)

RR
9/7

Dated No. 29. -

Ref. 21-22-14.

6

Bangalore, 13th June 1923.

To

A. R. Banerji, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E.,
The Dewan of Mysore,
Bangalore.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith the Resolutions passed at the Conference of the Public of Bangalore City, held on the 9th and 10th instant, regarding the constitutional reforms proposed by the Government. The Conference was attended by all sections of the Bangalore public, and the Resolutions were arrived at after due consideration. I have the honour to invite consideration of Government to the same, and remain,

Your most obedient servant,

President,
Mysore Reforms Conference,
Bangalore.

Encls.

Acknowledged with thanks

Forwarded, with compliments, to the Special Officer, Reforms

B.O. 3/7/23

P.S.D. 3/7/23

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RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT
THE MYSORE REFORMS CONFERENCE HELD IN
BANGALORE ON THE 9th & 10th JUNE 1923.

1. That this conference of the citizens of Bangalore hereby begs to express its deep sence of loyalty to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, and tenders its sincere and heartfelt thanks to His Highness for having most graciously decided to introduce reforms in the constitution of the State.

2. That this conference most respectfully prays His Highness the Maharaja to be graciously pleased to announce in the Proclamation, that the Reforms now to be granted are only preparatory to further developments in the constitution, making the Executive, completely responsible to the Representative Assembly.

3. That this conference also prays that His Highness the Maharaja may be graciously pleased to announce in the Proclamation that within a period of five years from the date thereof a Committee consisting of a majority of non-officials be appointed to suggest recommendations for effecting further constitutional Reforms.

4. That this conference considers the proposals of the Peal Committee highly unsatisfactory and views with alarm the theories advanced and the lines of future development indicated by the Committee.

5. That this conference is of opinion that the Reforms as set forth in the announcement are unsatisfactory, disappointing, and inadequate in as much as they do not satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and do not meet the requirements of the present situation.

6. That this conference is of opinion that the Reforms Report and the views of the Public thereon should be placed before the

Representative

Representative Assembly, and their opinions be taken before final sanction.

7. That this conference respectfully requests His Highness to be graciously pleased to incorporate in His Proclamation on the final scheme the following items safe-guarding the inviolable and inherent rights and liberties of the citizens of Mysore.

i. That the Press shall be free subject only to the ordinary laws of the land.

ii. That the citizens shall have absolute freedom of association and persuation so long as their activities do not interfere with the like freedom of others and so long as they are not violently directed against the safe existence of the State.

iii. No citizen shall be arbitrarily arrested or punished without trial by the ordinary judicial tribunals of the State and according to the ordinary laws of the land. All arrested persons must be produced before a Court of law without the least possible delay and the reasons of arrest specifically stated.

8. That this conference is of opinion that under the reformed constitution the Executive Council should include one or more chosen by His Highness from among the elected members of either house.

9. That this conference considers the recommendations contained in para 87 of the Report for enabling the Executive to frame Regulations independently of the Legislature is unnecessary and inexpedient.

10. That this conference is of opinion that an Emergency Regulation once introduced should not be capable of being continued after the expiry of the period for which it was originally enacted unless it is duly passed by the Legislature.

11. That

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11. That this conference is of opinion that the reservation of powers referred to in paras 208 and 210 of the Report is unnecessary and inexpedient.

12. That in the opinion of this conference it is desirable that the Representative Assembly should be presided over by a non-official member thereof elected by the house.

13. That this conference is of opinion that it should be a rule that in the Representative Assembly, amendments to all measures placed before it should also be put to vote.

14. That this conference recommends that the power of disallowing resolutions and interpellations in the Representative Assembly be vested in the Standing Committee of the house.

15. That this conference prays that at least threefourths the strength of the Legislative Council may consist of elected non-official members.

16. That this conference is opposed to the principle of nomination) to the principle of nomination to the Representative Assembly as recommended in the Seal Committee Report.

17. That this conference prays that all measures of Legislation, Taxation and Budget be introduced in and passed by the Representative Assembly.

18. That this conference is of opinion that in case the views of the Representative Assembly in respect of any measure are not accepted by the Legislative Council the said measure, with the views of the Council should be referred to the Assembly for reconsideration.

19. That this conference is of opinion that perfect freedom of speech subject only to control of the President should be secured in the houses by providing that no member of either house should be liable to any action Civil or Criminal in respect of any speech made therein.

20. That this conference prays that a Committee of the Representative Assembly at the next session be appointed for making recommendations for a further extension of the franchise

and

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and revision of the electorate, the Seal Committee's recommendations being taken as the basis for the ensuing elections only.

21. That this conference is of opinion that qualifications for representatives of minority associations should be the same as for other members of the Representative Assembly.

22. That this conference prays that definite rules be laid down regarding the nature of associations through which provisions will be made for the representation of minorities.

23. That this conference recommends that sex disqualification for candidates be removed.

24. That this conference considers it undesirable that Government servants should be eligible to be voters for either of the houses.

25. (a) That this conference is of opinion that the forum for deciding questions regarding the validity of elections to the Representative Assembly also be the Court of the District Judge.

(b) That this conference is of opinion that there should be a right of appeal to the Chief Court from decisions with regard to the validity of elections to either House.

26. That this conference authorizes the President to respectfully submit the proceedings of this conference to His Highness the Maharaja, and communicate the same to the Government, and the Press.

M. Venkatasubba Rao

President,

Mysore Reforms Conference,

Bangalore.

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PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH AT THE MYSORE REFORMS CONFERENCE,

HELD IN BANGALORE

ON THE 9th JUNE 1923.

By Mr. V. MANICKAVELU MUDALIAR

MR. S. SREENIVASA IYENGAR AND GENTLEMEN,

I am afraid you will be surprised to see me fulfilling this function. I do not know what your feelings would be when I say that *my* surprise at it is no less than yours I have passed nearly a generation of active life without feeling called upon to take part in Political Conferences. But to-day the world is in the remaking; and, like the rest of the world, our country is in the remaking; and each one of us has to fulfill parts, and take up roles, to which he has been a stranger through life. This year I am conducting a Political Conference for the reform of the Government at the instance of the public. Next year, if the Government obtains the power of declaring war, I should be as ready, when called upon, to go to the front. We have all to learn that the days are over when we could live easy, independent lives, earning our own livelihood, and finding our own enjoyments, safe so long as we break no recognised law. To-day the law is such, the constitution of Society and Government is such, that even if a man does not go out of his way to break the law, the law will find means to break him! It is therefore necessary that each adult member of Society, each man and each woman, should eagerly take care that that law is properly made, and properly interpreted. If you are to be killed by a rifle gentlemen, there is a comfort in it if your own hands pull the trigger.

Gentlemen, it is from no exaggerated notion of my own peculiar fitness for it that I preside here. It is solely from a feeling that no member of the public ought to hesitate at a public call, in a public cause, that I have agreed to fill this important place at this great function.

I owe you a word of explanation as to why I have suddenly advanced to take an active interest in the politics of our Country. All my life I have been a businessman interesting myself in industrial and commercial pursuits, and if to-day I wish for a controlling voice for the people in the administration of the country, it is because the Executive by keeping all powers in its hands, launches out into all kinds of schemes, commercial and industrial, without any check or control by anybody Such a close preserve of all powers in the Executive brings in its train ruin and misery to the public. For instance the Government levies heavy taxes from the public, ostensibly for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the masses, by well-devised schemes of sanitation, housing, town-planning, education, etc, but in reality we all know how little of the public money goes towards ameliorating these conditions. Indeed things are done regardless of real public needs, and crores of rupees wasted over ambitious industrial and other schemes, which could have been successfully used for the benefit of

the masses, in village sanitation, restoration of tanks, housing the poor, etc It is my firm belief that until the Government Executive is kept under popular control, no real good can accrue to the country.

This conference is summoned, gentlemen, to consider how far the Seal Reforms Committee Report is satisfactory, or I should say unsatisfactory. The position is this. The old system of Governments by which one personage, or a few powerful men used to command the population and commandeer their effects, *i.e.*, carry on the administration of a country according to their own lights and without reference to the public—and possibly in spite of public discontent—has been found to be out of date. Most of the nations have recognised that the mass of the people, for good or evil, must have a voice, and a controlling voice in the administration. In France of old, and in Russia, Turkey, China, Portugal and elsewhere the people have wrested that power from the old rulers; while in Ireland, Egypt and India, those responsible have been making over political responsibilities, gradually or once for all, to the respective people. In this State too, lately, His Highness and his advisers seem to have felt that it would be for the good of all to let the people have some control over the administration. I am sure, gentlemen, you will agree with me when I say that His Highness deserves our sincere and loyal thanks for this wise determination. But the Government did not want to take the responsibility of deciding what rights, and how much of them, the people may be asked to assume. For that job they appointed a Committee, nominated with the usual choice, with which committees are appointed in our State, presided over by a learned government servant, Dr. Seal. And we are here to say, *that they have fulfilled that job very badly*. They examined no witnesses, they made no public enquiries, they called for no data, they merely placed the terms of reference before them, or Dr. Seal did, and drafted a rigmarole; and the others merely kept waiting for the presentation of the inspired production. At last it came, and they listened to it, as we see things listened to in gramophone pictures in newspaper advertisements. When it was over, their only concern was to see how many representatives for their own communities they could individually demand.

That edifying Report is now before the public. So far as the Government are concerned, gentlemen, I have to say that they are not responsible for the Report. They are only responsible for the appointment of a Committee so constituted, with a Chairman of so curious opinions! Government have given him thanks for his handiwork, and there their debt to him is ended. But we ought to tell him too what we think about his work. Dr. Seal, to whom Mysoreans have been giving generous admiration, and almost fondling welcome, has by this Report flung a deliberate insult on the intelligence of the Mysore public. Dr. Seal who has the reputation of being learned and widely read, writes, as though he had awakened, like Rip Van Winkle, after a ten years' profound sleep, and propounds theories which were out of date a hundred years ago. He had good models to go to, the Indian Reforms Report, the Constitutions of Egypt, of Ireland, of Angora, China, and the United States, and he has produced a writing which is fit only for the pages of the Punch, or for which the London Times or Daily Mail.

would only give *a penny a page* No one has read the Report without disappointment and displeasure. I know some who have read it with anger and resentment. No European would read it except with a smile at its silliness and inanity; and no student of even the Mysore University would read it except with ridicule, and if he be a patriot, bitter ridicule!

Gentlemen, the basis of the Report is wrong. It says, "The Head of the State is the Supreme Executive Head, and the Source and Sanction of Law." What are the people, th n, I wonder? But here I must stop a moment and make a statement. I am here in no pers nal grudge. I intend no offence to either high or low, to His Highness, Goveanment, or the people. I am myself not personally concerned with any change in the Government. I can trust in the unfailing law, that Reforms or no Reforms, no Government can become too bad, without invoking decisive action from the people. For His Highness and the Government, I admire His Highness' goodness and virtues, and wish that the Government remember that Mysoreans are a good people, and deserve to be honestly and faithfully administered. My remarks on the Report, and on the Reforms proposed, are only a voicing of the general public opinion, according to principles which have obtained international currency. From the principle of kingship set forth above, the Committee evolves the conclusions, that the King can make and unmake all laws, that the Representative and Legislative popular assemblies can discuss laws and budget, and pass resolutions, but that the laws passed by them need not be put in force, and that their resolutions on the budget may be completely ignored. I cannot help expressing that this is mere mockery! If it is conceded that the one object of His Highness and the Government is the good of the people, and if it is also conceded that the Representative bodies are thoroughly representative of the people, according to accepted modes of representation, why should their unanimous voice or final conclusions be absolutely valueless? Is it held that two or three individual gentlemen know the public good much better than their own authorised representatives? If so why *have* this farce of an assembly at all? Why should 200 or 250 independent gentlemen take the trouble of going long distances, at considerable personal expense, and neglect of profitable business, just to assemble for no purpose whatever, and return home with dead hopes, and wasted efforts? Is it that outside newspapers may speak of Mysore as a model administration, with fine representative institutions, which are as a good as wax-work, and as useless? If it is felt that the Government have inherently the power to raise any tax from the people, and can by themselves act in the best interests of the people, then why bother the people about elections, and all that? Is it for the pleasure of calling the people's representatives together, and telling them that they are not fit for responsiblities? That is hardly fair! Nobody in Mysore wants such Reforms. The Government can go on as they are, until they can bring themselves frankly to admit that it is for the good of all, that the Representative bodies should be given the power to say what is good for the people and what is not, and act in accordance with that.

This question of Reforms is viewed by Government like parents who wish to give toys to clamorous children. But if it is granted that the sole aim of Governments is to make the people happy, what objection is there to doing what the people like, in these times when the means of communication are so handy, that you can easily know what the people do like?

I ought to state here what is at the back of the modern movement for popular Reforms. If each one of us, gentlemen, looked upon his neighbour as a brother and lived our daily lives without encroaching upon the rights of another, there would be no need for any Government at all. But since it is not so, Governments are necessary for assuring to each person his share of comfort. If they did this properly and without giving rise to complaint, they might go on as they are, eternally; there would be no need for any kind of Reforms. As the poet has said

> "For forms of Government let fools contend,
> "Whate'er is administered best, is best."

But the Governments are human also. The Modern Governments extract more and more money out of the public, and are making them learn to live under greater and greater discomfort. It is universally agreed that the best Governments are those which carry on their work with minimum expenditure and maximum comfort to the public. Geothe, the great German writer, asks the question-"**What Government is best?**" and answers—"**That which teaches us to govern ourselves.**" And elsewhere he has remarked– "**The best Government is that which makes itself superfluous.**" Another writer has said that **the best governed people are the least governed people**; that **over-government defeast its own ends.** And even ancient Confucius of China remarks: "**good Government obtains, when those who are near are happy, and those who are far off are attracted.**" And you all know from our Epics, how our own ancient kings used to govern! One writer has even compared them to roadside trees suffering in the sun, and giving shade to those coming under them. And King Dushyanta has been made to say "Let not my people grieve over the loss of a relative or guardian: I shall take that place, and keep them in comfort." The modern Governments fill such places also; but in another sense. They claim a share in the property, as death duties, and transfer of property taxes and others, and if an old woman finds a few rupees in a dismantled wall in a far away village, *they* have a better right to it than she! The present governments are so costly, owing to mismanagement, improvidence, want of economy, and if I may add, defalcations, and their administration of laws so repressive, that the people have begun to enquire what the Governments' duties are, whether Governments would not fulfill those duties better if they consulted and acted up to the people's will expressed by the people's representatives. Herbert Spencer has put the idea in language of philosophic clearness when he says, "In many countries at the present time experience has associated in men's minds, the unchecked power of a ruler, with extreme coercion of the ruled. Contrariwise, in countries where people have acquired some power, the restraints on the liberties of

individuals have been relaxed; and with advance towards Government by the majority, there has, on the average, been, a progressing abolition of laws and removal of burdens, which unduly interfered with such liberties. Hence, by contrast, popularly governed nations have come to be regarded as free nations; and possession of political power by all, is supposed to be the same thing as freedom." In the only few sane lines contained in the Report, Dr. Seal also admits this principle. "The rule of the majority has come to stay. Whether an oligarchy, an aristocracy, or any other form of minority rule might not be better is no longer the question. Legislation and administration must be governed by the collective will, which if ascertained on the democratic principle, will be the will of the majority."

Gentlemen, however Dr. Seal and his Committee may have failed, His Highness and the Government, I think, are desirous of knowing and ruling by the will of the majority. It is for you and this Conference on behalf of the public of Bangalore, to intimate to them what, in your considered opinion, would be the best mode of ascertaining and accomplishing the will of the public. There are many here who are men of ability, talent, experience, sober wisdom, and I add, earnest patriotism. I beseech you to bring all those noble faculties into play, and give His Highness' Government, and your fellow-countrymen, of your very best. In my conduct of the proceedings, I shall try also to come up to your level. Any failings that you may perceive in me, I trust you will view with charity.

One word more. Nations as well as individuals, if they are to succeed, should take time by the forelock, and seize sudden opportunities. Lost chances do not return easily. If you pass over the present lightly, you and your children will rue it long and dearly. I earnestly beseech you to remember that you are inhabitants of a country richly endowed, and with a great past, great in civil statesmanship, and great even on many a field of battle. I beseech you to remember that the administration of a state is no miracle, that, like Sancho Panza, many a rustic villager would be found to own qualities of head and heart perfectly equal to the task of managing the people's affairs with credit, and with remarkable benefit to the people. I beseech you to remember that Mysoreans have put in 40 years of apprenticeship in representative public life, that many of you have grown grey in representative capacities. I beseech you to recall that many of you have seen administration after administration come and pass, and have felt, at numerous times, that in one of your little fingers there was more administrative talent than in many a salaried administrator known to you; and remembering all this, for the sake of the unknown future, for the sake of your sons, I pray you, without tremor, without shirking or shrinking, with calm, settled, steadfast determination, go forward and knock at the door of Royalty, ask to be admitted to its inmost counsels, and for God's sake, take no refusal!

Gentleman, before I resume the seat, I ought on behalf of you all and personally, to thank Mr. S Srinivasa Iyengar for his gracious courtesy in opening this Conference. He has long been a familiar name to us, as an able, earnest and distinguished son of the Southern Presidency, and today we have had the pleasure of obtaining a personal knowledge of his rare and remarkable qualities. I convey to him your sincere expression of pleasure and thanks for letting us to associate his name with our attempts towards progress.

I invoke Heaven's blessings upon this Conference, and invite you now to a consideration of the various resolutions before you.

The Harrison Printing House, Bangalore City.

Registered.

A.R.Banerji, Esq. C.S.I., C.I.E.

Dewan of Mysore,

Bangalore.

MYSORE
REG.
Spant
Bangalore